

monitoring report

Elections B&H '96

bulletin of the institute for war & peace reporting & media plan

21 August 1996

number 12

THE B&H MEDIA WEEK IN REVIEW: 12-18 AUGUST

Another week, another agreement or three, and the electoral cavalcade moves on. From Brussels to Geneva, from Mostar to Sarajevo and from Han Pijesak to Sokolac, pressure was exerted, deals struck, crises averted and the elections saved, yet again. The threats of various Federation-based parties to boycott the poll receded. Only war, according to OSCE Chief of Mission Robert Frowick, could stop what *Hrvatska riječ* called the "American elections".

In parts of both the Federation and Republika Srpska, however, a veritable guerilla war of hooliganism and intimidation continued to be waged against the campaigns of opposition parties. Were it not for the exposure provided by the domestic and foreign media, these efforts on the part of alleged agents or followers of the ruling parties to homogenise their respective tribes might well have prevailed. As it is, the disruption of meetings, the ignition of Molotov cocktails and the ejection of enterprise directors have at least been widely reported. In the Federation, in fact, it would seem that the resort to violence has redounded to the benefit of the victims.

The News on RTV B&H

Much of **TV B&H's** main "Dnevnik" was taken up last week with items about the three presidents' meeting in Geneva, Warren Christopher's subsequent flying visit to Sarajevo (and the reopening of the city's airport to commercial flights with which it commenced) and the transformation of the Federation that would follow the scheduled liquidation of Herceg-Bosna on 31 August. What TV B&H did not feature, however, was Robert Frowick's declaration on 16 August that elections

would take place on 14 September regardless of prevailing conditions. "Dnevnik"'s report on the news conference in question mentioned this statement only in passing, whereas other domestic and foreign media made it their lead.

Less curious, perhaps, was an omission pointed out by **Croatian Television** as being characteristic of the "Bošnjak" media in general: the failure to discuss the fact that some 40 republican functions or institutions are now set to die along with Herceg-Bosna, including the secret service (AID) and republican defence ministry. Although HRT's interest in portraying the Geneva talks as another triumph for President Tuđman should be taken for granted, it seems, in this instance, that the Croats had a point.

Two themes dominated TV B&H's coverage of party politics in the Federation: (1) demands for the nullification of registrations to vote on the part of refugees and DPs who (using the OSCE's so-called Form 2) have been entered on electoral lists in their current places of abode and (2) reactions to the increasing number of instances of sometimes violent interference with opposition parties' campaign activities.

As for the first, "Dnevnik" noted the protests of the Associated List and Party for B&H (13 August), the governing SDA (15 August) and the Civil Democratic Party (GDS, 16 August) against the fact that what had been intended to be an exceptional occurrence has become the rule in Republika Srpska. By this means, according to the parties, ethnic cleansing was being legitimised and the division of B&H cemented. They might also have mentioned that it was highly detrimental to the electoral prospects of mainly Bošnjak parties.

As principal victim of the various "incidents", the Associated List took the lead in condemning both the disruption of its meetings by partisans of the SDA and the generally inadequate response of the police. On 12 August its protest concerned Gradačac and Kalesija. It was supported in the same broadcast by a statement from the LBO. The response of the Gradačac branch of the SDA was to combine denial with slur: alleging that the attack was mounted by demobilised soldiers who were unable to stomach the fact that people who had not fought for Bosnia were now fighting for power. (This reply echoed, of course, that of the local SDA following the 15 June assault on Haris Silajdžić in Cazin.)

"Dnevnik" broadcast communiqués from the Associated List and the Republican Party on 15 August which alerted viewers to the fact that another Associated List rally had been targeted, this time in Srebrenik. Thanks to prompt police intervention, however, the meeting had been saved. On 16 and 17 August the Associated List appeared again, now denouncing the seizure of its promotional materials by the B&H police on the frontier crossing near Bihać. The explanation offered by the police, according to the coalition, was that the material's "contents were against the ruling party." Also on 17 August, "Dnevnik" carried the Liberal Party's announcement that a meeting it had called in Bugojno had been disrupted by a group of "cheerleaders for political unitarism" who had pelted the speaker with missiles.

Although TV B&H can be commended for publicising these incidents, it was notable that none was reported by the station's own correspondents. Either they do not exist on the ground, or else they are not asked to report such events. The viewer, in any case, was left to ponder the parties' own self-interested accounts of what took place without the corroboration, mediation or explanation of professional journalists.

The afternoon "Dnevnik" on **Radio B&H** continues to offer highly variable coverage of the election campaign. On a given day (16 August) it will report on three party press conferences, while on another (17 August) it will ignore three.

In a similarly irregular vein, Radio B&H's reporting of the Geneva talks and their aftermath was very cautious last week; but "Dnevnik" also seemed to go out of its way to pick a fight with Croatia on the

fraught subject of Fikret Abdić. On 15 August "Dnevnik" complained that Abdić had the whole Croatian press at his disposal for his election propaganda. Three days later he was alleged "to have open access to all Croatian media while, at the same time, in Croatia they claim to wish Bosnia all the best, including good bilateral relations."

Like TV B&H, Radio B&H carried reports on opposition party press conferences at which the disruption of their rallies was condemned. But also like the viewer of TV B&H, the listener to Radio B&H was left to wonder why the station had no reports from its own correspondents. However, a particularly scathing sound bite from the Associated List press conference on 12 August was broadcast. This was the assessment of Ivo Komšić: "From what I saw in Kalesija and Gradačac, members of the SDA who wrote about how they will create a Muslim state are both striving for and attaining it."

"Dnevnik" at 15.00 has also taken to reporting with approbation such rare instances of cross-entity communication as come its way. Thus, on 12 August, it noted after a meeting of Serb and Bošnjak leaders in Doboj that local Serbs were ready for tolerant relations with their displaced former neighbours. On 14 August "Dnevnik" provided a positive report on the meeting in Sarajevo of journalists from both entities and, without comment, carried the statement by "the current president of the Serb entity" Biljana Plavšić to the effect that "the leadership of the Serb entity intends during the elections to guarantee free movement and security under their control to Bošnjaks and Croats."

Radio SDA

The SDA is tightening its grip on Bihać. It seems to have accomplished an almost complete identification of party, state, army and Islam in northwest Bosnia. One should add media, too.

Radio Bihać, the only media outlet of any importance in the region, has become little more than the SDA's propaganda machine. Last week the station's "Daily Chronicle" broadcast only news about the SDA. It completely ignored the opposition. Even the twice-weekly listener contact programme, which two weeks ago featured an appearance by the opposition Party for B&H,

never came on. The first time, the station blamed "technical problems". Three days later it announced it was canceling the broadcast because only the Party for B&H and the HDZ had responded to its invitation. The Party for B&H evidently was not going to get two chances.

The authorities in Bihać show little tolerance for open debate. Two weeks ago a canton official warned on Radio Bihać that political parties were "using unconfirmed information and rumors to frighten the people." This was a "criminal act" that "disrupts security". Last week the police made good on this threat. In Cazin, they arrested the head of the opposition Bošnjak Party of Rights. They also confiscated campaign materials of the Associated List.

Radio Bihać mentioned none of this. The station reported only good news about the SDA, usually aimed at showing the unanimity of support for the party. The 18 August "Daily Chronicle" was typical. It covered a rally in the village of Bužim that featured speeches by municipal officials, a Muslim cleric and a local Army commander. The speakers told some "stretchers". Bužim is a municipality that was formed during the war and thus will not have its own list in the elections. But facts do not deter Radio Bihać, which is willing to broadcast whatever falls from the lips of the SDA. An SDA candidate who was presented as leader of the "Bužim list" stated that "the municipality of Bužim is the only municipality in Bosnia in which no party has registered except the SDA."

The closest the SDA came to speaking about unsavoury activities was a reference at the same event to the June attack on Haris Silajdžić in Cazin. Last month, OSCE blamed both the local police and the SDA for the beating. Ever since then the authorities have been busy revising the verdict. In Bužim, Mirsad Veladžić, governor of the Unsko-Sanski Canton, used an old trick and tried to reverse blame. "I beg you... don't stop those who think differently from gathering and saying what they think," he told SDA supporters. "It's to their advantage to be stopped. They organized it, and paid for it. Don't help them, please." One wonders how much Silajdžić paid to have himself smacked on the head.

Another official tried to justify SDA suppression of the opposition, as well as its control of Radio Bihać. "If the situation were normal, we would have **Croatian TV** here today, and if we had a certain other Bošnjak (i.e., Fikret Abdić) we would

have dozens of TV stations here, and we know they would be making propaganda of their interests," said Šemso Tanković, head of the SDA in Croatia. "And so we are not going to give opportunities to any other Bosnian politician who will not be conscious of his duty to Bosnia, Islam and Bošnjaks."

The SDA has cast a chill over democracy in the Bihać area, with Radio Bihać its willing accomplice. The station leaves nothing to chance. The "journalist" Minka Džafić, who regularly covers SDA events, never fails to introduce them without a sentence like this one, heard last week: "Only the SDA, led by President Alija Izetbegović, can lead Bošnjaks to a happier future."

If there was any good news last week, it came in a 16 August report on plans for a cantonal television station. Radio Bihać noted that the government had spent a great deal of money on the station, but was still waiting for it to begin operating. "Now they are going to start... not they are not going to start," the "Daily Chronicle" reported, with obvious impatience. If Radio Bihać is any indication of what kind of television the authorities have in mind, one can only hope that the delay lasts a little longer.

The World According to SRT

The dominant theme on **TV Srpska's** "Novosti u 8" last week was the Serb entity's relations with IFOR, and particularly the confrontation at Han Pijesak, Ratko Mladić's normal hiding place. As emissaries from NATO, IFOR, the US and OSCE made the trip up to Pale throughout the week, seeking to defuse the crisis, "Novosti u 8" offered on 12 August an ingenious explanation for IFOR's declaration of an enhanced state of alert: "In searching for new details relating to this situation, we have learned that, in fact, the Muslims are to blame for the latest turn of events. Namely, because of indications that American forces could find themselves the target of attacks by Islamic terrorists, IFOR has raised its level of battle readiness - according to an unnamed NATO representative quoted by AP."

The resolution of the crisis on 18 August, when IFOR troops entered the illegal arms dump near Sokolac and, the next day, began to destroy the offending weaponry, was marked by a more intriguing communiqué, this time from the RS Army's General Staff. As broadcast by "Novosti u

8", the army complained both that the armaments in question were defensive in nature - and, hence, not covered by the disarmament agreement - and that Acting President Biljana Plavšić had negotiated with NATO and IFOR behind the backs of General Staff members. This, according to the statement, "represented an attempt to create a split between the state leadership and the General Staff of the Army of Republika Srpska."

The verdict of **Radio Srpska's** 16.00 "Dnevnik" on the end of the confrontation with IFOR was gloomier still: "All in all, events without a basis and a justification can be described as yet another instance of blackmail by the world community, the only consequence of which will be the appearance of undesirable tension before the September elections."

The prevention or healing of splits was also the main theme of the week's party political coverage on SRT. Taking a leaf from the SDA's book, the SDS and its satellite parties spent considerable time publicising calls for a reduction in the number of presidential candidates from six to two or, better yet, to one. Milorad Milaković, the candidate of the Party of Serb Unity for the RS presidency, warned on 14 August that RS could be absorbed into B&H if nationalist parties did not take 75 per cent of the votes at the polls. This refrain was taken up by Nikola Poplašen of the Serbian Radical Party the next day and reached its climax on 16 August at an SDS press conference.

Both "Novosti u 8" and Radio Srpska's "Dnevnik" gave prominence to this event, and especially to SDS Secretary Borivoj Sendić's warning that "the entry of six Serb candidates in the election race for the RS presidency could, theoretically, permit the victory of a Muslim from the SDA, so that the Serb nation on this land would get a vizier." Parties with a clear nationalist programme such as the Serb Party of Krajina and the Peoples' Party must agree with the SDS and the Serbian Radical Party to support them at the elections, rallying round Biljana Plavšić "so that what was begun can be realised." (This last comment was, however, excised from Radio Srpska's report of Sendić's remarks.)

The lesson of Republika Srpska Krajina was, according to Sendić, instructive: "lost amid Serb disagreements." As if this were not enough, Radio Srpska's "Dnevnik" added that day's demand by the Radical Fatherland Front "Nikola Pašić" for

Serbs to unite lest they find themselves with a Muslim head of state.

Unity with renegades and sometime patriots, however, is not to be countenanced, especially with the agents of the current regime in Belgrade. On 13 August the main newscasts on both radio and television featured a commentary from *Srpski glas* attacking the Socialist-led League for Peace and Progress as Belgrade's "long arm". SRT's listeners and viewers would not have known what all the fuss was about unless they had also listened to **Radio Krajina** or watched **Serbian Television**. These stations cover the Socialists' meetings, their increasingly sharp attacks on the RS regime and their complaints about its treatment of them. In fact, as far as Belgrade TV is concerned, only the League for Peace and Progress merits the attention of its cameras.

Following incidents in Teslić (the forcible removal of a company director) and Novi Grad (aka Bosnaski Novi, where a Molotov cocktail destroyed the car of a Socialist leader), Belgrade aired the League's denunciation of "the terrorism and violence against those who do not think alike."

SRT was, as usual, far more forthcoming about electoral abuses in the Federation. It took particular pleasure last week in citing on 17 August (both on radio and television) a *New York Times* article about the climate of intimidation prevailing in the Unsko-Sanski canton, where the ruling SDA and its secret intelligence service (AID) were said to persecute opposition politicians. Even the otherwise unexplained fine of \$25,000 imposed by OSCE on the SDS was linked the same day on Radio Srpska by party Vice-President S. Bijelić to SDA abuses: "Even when OSCE punished the SDA because of the attack on Haris Silajdžić, we knew that that was only preparing the ground for penalising the SDS."

Tricks in Tuzla

Dirty tricks dominated the election news last week in Tuzla. Incidents from 10 August, in which SDA supporters broke up Associated List rallies in Gradačac and Kalesija, reverberated through the week as both sides fought by press conference over who was to blame. Another incident in Srebrenik on 14 August continued the theme, as did lesser attempts by SDA supporters in the Tuzla region to undermine the opposition.

The story was a good test of the Tuzla media. But still they came up short. The two television stations in Tuzla, following old patterns, failed again to provide balanced coverage. The cantonal station, **TV TPK**, devoted itself to broadcasting the SDA's side of the story. The municipal station, **TV Tuzla**, back on the air after a strike, focused on the indignant opposition. **Radio Tuzla** did somewhat better.

The Associated List exploited its disrupted rallies for all they were worth. It complained about them at a press conference in Tuzla on 11 August and at two later in the week in Sarajevo. TV Tuzla covered them well. It also reported on 14 August that SDA supporters had tried but failed to stop a rally in Srebrenik. There was more during the week: SDA supporters broke into the office of an Associated List official in Tuzla; the Party for B&H complained that SDA supporters had plastered SDA posters over its posters and had interfered at a rally in Živinice. But TV Tuzla failed to report SDA protestations that they were not responsible. The station did show an SDA rally in Tuzla on 15 August, but only in pictures. Rather than let the SDA candidates speak for themselves, the announcer read from a statement about the rally issued by the local SDA press office. It covered Associated List rallies more thoroughly on 16, 17 and 19 August, as well as two press conferences of the HDZ during the week.

For its part, TV TPK focused on the SDA's responses to the mischief of the week. At a meeting on 12 August, cantonal officials defended themselves at length. "We didn't disrupt any political meeting, or organise interference with the Associated List, so we don't consider ourselves responsible," said Izmet Hadžić, governor of the canton. Hadžić dismissed the events as "unsuccessful political performances" and accused the Associated List of "attacking themselves". He also denounced the Associated List's most prominent candidate, Tuzla Mayor Selim Bešlić, for promoting the "autonomy" of Tuzla during the war by forcing local soldiers to wear the city's crest and not Bosnia's.

TV TPK gave the Associated List a chance to complain about the SDA on the 14 August "Elections '96" programme, on which representatives of both the SDA and the Associated List appeared. But the station did not mention the abortive attempt that day of SDA supporters in Srebrenik to break up yet another rally. It was occupied elsewhere, at another

Associated List rally in the Banovići Cultural Centre. There, as in the past, TV TPK used its coverage to undermine the event. The camera focused on people holding SDA flags, on SDA posters stuck to the walls, and on a man who had a photograph of Alija Izetbegović sticking out of his pocket.

One surprise was that for the first time in two months a news item about Tuzla crept as high as second place in the TV TPK evening news. The event was a meeting of the city council at which it discussed changing the name of October Street to the Street of Bosnian Rulers. Renaming streets is one of the SDA's favorite causes.

Radio Tuzla, although it also favours the SDA, again proved itself more open to the opposition than TV TPK. Last week the SDA and the Associated List each appeared on the radio four times. The Party for B&H appeared three times, and the HDZ twice. Unlike TV TPK, Radio Tuzla reported on the incident in Srebrenik, including the inevitable SDA disclaimer.

One thing's for certain in Tuzla: the campaigning is lively, if not by the rules. That goes for the journalism, too. To get the full picture, voters need to tune into more than one station.

The Sarajevo Press

The three daily newspapers maintained their diligent coverage of the election. *Oslobođenje* continued, too, to feature calls for a boycott: from opposition parties, from notable individuals and from its own commentators. The news at mid-week from Geneva, followed by Warren Christopher's visit to Sarajevo, quieted but did not still this campaign. The release on 14 August of the International Crisis Group's report calling for the postponement of the elections provided the paper at the end of the week with an opportunity to reiterate its opposition to the poll, albeit now in resigned tones: "The closer the elections come, the greater are the reasons for pessimism."

Večernje novine paid close attention to the disruption or attempted disruption of opposition election meetings in Gradačac, Kalesija, Srebrenik and Cazin, condemning such incidents in a commentary entitled "Clubbing the Voters" and in other articles under headlines such as "Condemnation of Terror", "An Attack on Patriots" and "Their Fear and Ours". But Fikret Abdić was

also in *Večernje novine*'s sights. The paper lent its support to his indictment for war crimes in Bihać and initiated a series of features under the title "Tracing the Crimes of Fikret Abdić".

Dnevni Avaz abandoned its eager pursuit of the boycott story after the Geneva conference. "The USA", according to *Avaz* on 15 August, "demands elections without obstruction." The next day a large front page headline asked "Who Benefits from the Postponement of Elections?" The answer was the small opposition parties who stood little or no chance at the polls. A public opinion survey conducted by the paper seemed to bear this out. Asked whom they preferred for the presidency, 65 per cent opted for Alija Izetbegović, 22 per cent for Haris Silajdžić and 10 per cent for Sead Avdić.

From their different perspectives, both *Svijet* (15 August) and *Hrvatska riječ* (17 August) offered skeptical welcomes to the first meeting of the new all-Mostar city council and the unanimous election of Ivan Prskalo as mayor. The latter paper also professed to expect the worst from the September voting in terms of manipulation. The presence of two leading - but non-HDZ - Croat politicians at the Associated List rally which was broken up in Gradačac moved *Hrvatska riječ* to comment that this was their "reward for obedience".

Ljiljan (14 August) found a new reason for opposing the elections last week. The prospect of Momčilo Krajišnik becoming post-war Bosnia's president had been the previous week's bogey. Now it had found a new threat in the form of a UN document warning that the elections could "wrap 'the Serb national project' in the cellophane of legitimacy" and so hasten B&H's final demise. On the other hand, the weekly also carried an interview with Ibrahim Spahić, president of the GDS, a party which is voluble in support of the elections.

Confronted again last week with the determination of the Americans to have elections in B&H on 14 September in any circumstances bar war, the Sarajevo political and journalistic establishments mostly halted their agitation against the elections. Since no one dares start fighting, no one will dare prevent the voting. For what it was worth, the Mostar settlement also contributed to the pacification of anti-electoral excitement.

Campaign tension shifted to other fronts. Incidents at opposition meetings in provincial towns proliferated. The aggrieved parties accused

the SDA of being responsible, while the ruling party denied the charges. The newspapers seized upon the opportunity to inject more life into their campaign coverage and the politicians grabbed at the chance to denounce violence and defend democracy.

The Republika Srpska Press

Glas srpski's devotion to the SDS remained undiminished last week. Every statement and meeting of Biljana Plavšić, Momčilo Krajišnik, Vitomir Popović and Velibor Ostojić was duly reported. Other parties receive on average only one mention per week. The exception is the Serbian Radical Party of RS. The withdrawal of its leader, Nikola Poplašen, from the race for the RS presidency in favour of Vice-President Plavšić meant that his party benefited accordingly.

Reporting Plavšić's meeting in Bijeljina on 11 August with the directors and editors-in-chief of the state media, *Glas srpski* noted that the object of their discussion had been to promote good practice in the coverage of the campaign and elections. According to Plavšić, up to now "there has been no discrimination in regard to appearances by parties and candidates, and all have been equitably presented."

On 17 August *Glas srpski* carried alarming news from Prijedor: an explosive device had been put under the house of National Assembly Deputy S. Srdić. Moreover, townspeople had been astonished to wake up on the morning of 16 August to find most public buildings covered with fresh graffiti hailing Izetbegović and the B&H *Armija*, portraying the golden lily and other Federation insignia and urging them to vote for the SDA.

Glas srpski did not, on the other hand, make any mention of the attacks last week on members of the Socialist Party of RS in Teslić and Novi Grad (Bosanski Novi).

The bi-weeklies *Nezavisne novine* (No 22) and *Alternativa* (in a double issue of 14 August) provided extensive and favourable coverage last week of the Socialist-led League for Peace and Progress. *Alternativa*'s page one article recounted the entry by the Doboj and Teslić police into the "Destilacija" factory with the aim of forcibly removing its director, Radet Pavlović, a member of the Socialist Party's executive council.

Media Briefs

New Arrivals

Three new media reached central Bosnia last week: from Zagreb, **Croatian Television's** Second Programme; from Pale, **Pravoslavni radio Sveti Jovan** (Orthodox Radio St John); and, from the SDA, a massive effort to paint the party's initials on every road, viaduct, abutment and intersection between Sarajevo and Mostar. The scale of this latter campaign to beautify Bosnia is breathtaking. So is the obvious connivance of the traffic police and local authorities.

The scale of Sonja Karadžić's new radio station was also a matter for comment. As reported by **Radio Krajina** on 12 August, Pravoslavni radio Sveti Jovan has been putting out test programmes on nine frequencies and at enormous cost, apparently the fruit of Ms Karadžić's hard labour issuing accreditations (at a price) to the foreign press these last few years.

The arrival of HRT's Second Channel, on the other hand, passed almost without comment in Sarajevo. Unlike the long-awaited TVIN (aka Bildt TV), which has been termed a "media occupation" and which won hardly any support from the politicians assembled by TV B&H for its 13 August election debate, HRT's expansion seems to be regarded as having no cultural or political

implications for B&H.

What did he know, and when did he know it?

NTV Studio 99's "Oko 22" carried on 15 August a statement by Alija Izetbegović dissociating himself from the SDA ambush on the Associated List meeting in Gradačac. The president's statement was interesting on two counts. In the first place, he noted that he had learned of the incident from reading the press upon his return from Geneva. Does this mean he has no colleagues to brief him on such matters? Secondly, he was introduced by the presenter as president of the presidency of the Republic of B&H, but not as the president of the SDA, although it was because of his party that he was speaking.

Brotherhood and Unity in Zenica

Radio Zenica and **TV Zenica** shifted last week from implicit to explicit promotion of the SDA, using actuality sound from party press conferences for the first time. They also made big play of the Croats' refusal to allow Muslim pilgrims to pass through the Žepče area on their way to Novi Šeher. This was treated as one in a series of recent wrongs inflicted on Bošnjaks in HVO-controlled areas. **Zetel**, for its part, refused to allow its coverage of protocol events to celebrate the ruling SDA. Nor did it even mention the incident near Novi Šeher.

The following media were monitored for this week's report: *RTV Srpska, RTV BiH, Radio Studio 99, NTV 99, NTV Hayat, TV Zenica, NTV Zetel, Radio Zenica, Radio Tuzla, TV TPK Tuzla, TV Tuzla, Radio Prijedor, Radio Bihać, RTV Mostar, Hrvatska RTV Mostar, Radio Krajina Banja Luka, TV Srbije, Hrvatska televizija, Oslobođenje, Večernje novine, Dnevni Avaz, Slobodna Bosna, Ljiljan, Svijet, Hrvatska riječ, Nezavisne ovine, Alternativa, Glas srpski*.

She loves me, she loves me not. . . (6)

The table below shows the presence of political parties, their leaders and multi-party coalitions on the state-run broadcast media of both the Federation and Republika Srpska in the week 12 - 18 August. The column headed "total" indicates how many times each party or its leader appeared (directly or indirectly) or was mentioned in the central daily newscasts on both radio and television of **RTV B&H** and **SRT**. Each party is awarded a score which represents the sum of every positive mention (+1), every neutral mention (0) and every negative mention (-1). The column headed "Σ (+,-,0)" shows the results. The higher the number, the greater is that broadcaster's sympathy for or devotion to the party or politician. The lower the number, on the other hand, the more can the broadcaster be said to regard that party or its leader with disrespect or antipathy. The closer the total to zero, the more likely it is that the party receives equitable treatment by the broadcaster

name of party / coalition	RTV BiH		RTV Srpska	
	total	Σ (+,-,0)	total	Σ (+,-,0)
<i>party</i>				
Stranka demokratske akcije	20	0	16	-15
Srpska demokratska stranka (SZ)	4	-2	18	+16
Hrvatska demokratska zajednica BiH	7	-2	9	-4

name of party / coalition	RTV BiH		RTV Srpska	
	total	Σ (+,-,0)	total	Σ (+,-,0)
Stranka za BiH	3	0	-	-
Srpska patriotska stranka SPAS	-	-	2	0
Narodna stranka RS	-	-	4	+2
Srpska stranka Krajine	-	-	4	+2
Liberalna Stranka BiH LS	1	0	-	-
Liberalno bošnjačka organizacija LBO	1	0	-	-
Bosanska stranka	1	0	-	-
Građanska demokratska stranka BiH GDS	6	0	-	-
Muslimansko bošnjačka organizacija MBO (1)	4	0	-	-
Hrvatska seljačka stranka BiH HSS (1)	5	0	-	-
Unija bosanskohercegovačkih socijaldemokrata UBSD (1)	2	0	-	-
Socijal demokratska partija BiH SDP (1)	4	0	-	-
Socijalistička partija RS (3)	-	-	1	-1
Radikalni otadžbinski front "Nikola Pašić"	-	-	2	+2
Srpska seljačka stranka	-	-	2	+1
Stranka privrednog prosperiteta	2	0	-	-
Republikanska stranka (1)	2	0	-	-
Srpska radnička stranka	-	-	1	0
Stranka srpskog jedinstva	-	-	4	+1
Narodna demokratska zajednica	1	-1	-	-
BH Patriotska stranka	1	0	-	-
<i>coalition</i>				
Demokratski patriotski blok RS	-	-	3	-1
Savez za mir i progres RS	-	-	4	-2
Združena lista za BiH	5	0	1	0

(1) Parties that belong to the coalition Združena lista za BiH

(2) Parties that belong to the coalition Demokratski partijski blok RS

(3) Parties that belong to the coalition Savez za mir i progres RS

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The Institute for War and Peace Reporting is an independent conflict-monitoring and media-support charity which works to inform the international debate on conflict and to provide a platform and other support for voices of moderation caught in war. It publishes the monthly journal *War Report* and the bimonthly *Tribunal*, a review of The Hague International War Crimes Tribunal. For subscriptions and other information, contact IWPR at 33 Islington High Street, London N1 9LH. Tel + 44-171-713-7130 / Fax 713-7140 / E-mail: warreport@gn.apc.org.

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MEDIA PLAN is Bosnia's first private company specialising in media research and analysis. Its central aim is to promote the renewal and development of the B&H media. The company has at its disposal an extensive data-base on the Bosnian media scene. MEDIA PLAN has correspondents in Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, Banja Luka and Bihać, as well as in Sarajevo. Eighteen monitors, researchers and other staff are engaged in work on *Monitoring Report*.

We gratefully acknowledge project support from the Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency, the Open Society Institute, the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung and the Winston Foundation for World Peace.

